249 [374] The mill is owned and operated as a co-operative enterprise of the village. This is the only co-operative phase of sugar growing and processing; all other operations, such as planting, harvesting, the actual making and marketing of the brown sugar are done by individual growers. In Hanashiro, the steps in sugar manufacture are (1) the crushing of the cane, (2) the boiling of the juice, (3) the handling, cooling, and packing of the brown sugar.

The cane is crushed by running it through a roller driven by a gas engine. Before the war, there were two of these rollers. The juice is channelled along small concrete conduits at the base of the roller to a cement hole in the floor. This hole is about two feet in diameter and one foot deep. From this storage hole, it is ladled into the pots for boiling. In pre-war days, the machinery was better, and instead of the small concrete hole, large vats were used. The place where the sugar is boiled adjoins the room in which the crushing is done. The dirt floor of this room has two levels: one on which the pots are placed, and under which there is a trench open at the lower level for the fuel. A man standing on the lower level, in back of the building, shovels or pitches fuel into the trench. Formerly coal [372] was used for this purpose; now plant residues and miscanthus are used. Grass is fed into the fire with a pointer on a long stick. Above this trench large pans about 4 feet in diameter are set in holes.

Pan 4 Pan 3 Pan 2 Pan 1

Trench Fire

The cane juice is first strained through a cloth or wire mesh to remove large pieces of stalk and leaves. Once in the pan, a little lime (sekkai) is added to bring out the impurities. The juice is brought to a boil and the mixture skimmed. The scum (gomi) is ladled off and put in a piece of fine cloth. This is tied up and allowed to drip in the pot and then added to the other syrup. The juice is boiled for about 2 1/2 hours. It is frequently stirred with a pan attached to a long sugar pole (satonibu). The syrup is tested by allowing drops to fall from a bamboo stick to see if it has been boiled down enough.

When the boiling is completed, the syrup is ladled out into a deep round pan, about 3 feet in diameter. It is placed on a grass mat whose center piece, made of rice straw, resembles a life saver. The bottom of the pan fits into the hole. This mat with the pot is dragged outside the building into the open.

The sugar is now vigorously stirred with long poles. The hardening syrup on the sides of the pan is scraped with the hera, the same tool used in the transplanting of the sweet potato tops. The mixture is stirred about 15 minutes with frequent testing. The harder layer is scraped off the sides, being mixed with the more liquid syrup in the bottom of the pan. These hardened scrapings speed up the hardening

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals [825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a [943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific [177] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with [474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya [262] land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

[492] Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they [262] are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

226
136 (9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [207] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, [434] but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ÿ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one.

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow.

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people.

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut.

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nisu-e (Okinawan), nimmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Hinatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Hinatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

[514] The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments [262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [406] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [517] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Hinatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 424 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [777]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[text continues top of P. 248 -- analyst]

Minatogawa Loan Groups--Loans and Repayments

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Period	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1st Month	*	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2nd	2100	*	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
3rd	2100	2100	*	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825
4th	2100	2100	2100	*	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850
5th	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770
6th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1840	1840	1840	1840	1840
7th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1880	1880	1880	1880
8th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1810	1810	1810
9th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1910	1910
10th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1700
11th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	---
Amount of Loan	20000	18000	16000	14000	12000	10000	8000	6000	4000	2000	0000
Loan less Discount	20000[a]	16200	14600	12950	10620	9200	7520	5430	3820	1700	0000
Amount Paid Back	21000	18900	16800	14700	12600	10500	8400	6300	4200	2100	0000

The Asterisk represents the borrower.
Amounts to the right of the asterisk represent loans to him.
Amounts below the asterisk represent his repayments
Amounts above the asterisk show his loans to others.

a The examples are the assumed highest bids. A received the loan without discount.

Monthly Balances and Final Settlement
(Based on Previous Table)

	Amount Returned	Amount Paid Out
1st Month		20,000
2nd	2,100	16,200
3rd	4,200	14,600
4th	6,300	12,950
5th	8,400	10,620
6th	10,500	9,200
7th	12,600	7,520
8th	14,700	5,430
9th	16,800	3,820
10th	18,900	1,700
11th	21,000	
Total	115,500	102,040
Difference (Value of Interest and Discounts)		Y 13,460

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villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 424 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 424 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organized for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		Y 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

494 Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Oushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Hinatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

h

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

stored and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. [251] [514] [462]

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 [249]

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 [474] [402]

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 [434]

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
[438] several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
251 body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[443] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
427 quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
[462] have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
[434] leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and [412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood • 474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand- 313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces [592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store [436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the [438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths [354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for [465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New [342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet- 466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however [647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

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653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is re-
[464] quired to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

● 474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the [245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

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highest status are all engaged in it, there is no one who can check it and nobody who would dare to." The accounts are checked and audited, and reports are made to the members. 474 621

It is characteristic of the cooperative that it works closely with the political organization of the community and that it is an integral part of the village. In certain ways it has taken over some financial functions of the village, supplying it with funds which would otherwise have to be raised through village taxes.

The cooperative buys all firewood that has been produced by the households at a uniform price, thus giving families a great deal more security than they had in days when selling was done on a competitive basis. Since the firewood market fluctuates, the cooperative often takes a loss which would be hard for individuals to bear alone.

The truck which takes the forest products to the city returns with goods for the store. All shareholders' purchases are recorded. Dividends are issued once a year. They are actually small. Part of the profits are used to finance new shares for each household. Every shareholder now owns an equal number of shares. A limited saving system has also been resumed by the postwar cooperative. The small amounts which have accumulated (few families are able to lay aside money for long periods of time) are withdrawn around New Year or on other occasions when special purchases are made. 474 [454]

Although the cooperative would like to finance individual projects, such as building, buying livestock, and agricultural expansion, sufficient funds are not available. Mutual finance groups are formed to extend this type of credit. A person who needs money to finance a project asks others in the village to form a partnership in which everybody who agrees to participate pays the same amount monthly, on a prearranged date, into the common fund. A different person takes a loan each month. It usually goes to the lowest bidder, except that the first loan is given to the person who asked to form the group. The difference between the bid and the actual amount collected is paid out as interest. Each person has a guarantor who is made responsible in case the actual participant is unable to make his monthly payment toward the fund.

Mutual finance groups are formed between any persons, based on their willingness to participate at a certain time, either because they themselves need a loan or, as happens in a few cases, because they hope to make some money from the interest. The obligation to pay is taken very seriously, although it can create tremendous hardships on individuals who have to make quick temporary arrangements to borrow money elsewhere in order to meet their monthly payments. Since 621 452

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
●474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the cooperative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons.

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate.

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land.

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century.

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the

community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

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Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way.

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men.

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office.

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite.

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira.

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more important in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[349] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north
[491] have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[238] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[476] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[376] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.